

MACMILLAN'S EARLY TRADE IN EDUCATIONAL BOOKS TO INDIA, 1873-1891

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## Chapter One: Education in Britain and India, 1854-1890

There are two principal aspects of publishing, the idealistic and the commercial, and the character of a firm must largely depend on its reconciliation of them. You may put out books because you believe someone will buy them, or you may put out books because you believe it right that they should be available to the public, or you may put out books for both these reasons.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Morgan's statement in his history of the House of Macmillan presents an image of a plan serenely pursued and brought to fruition by Macmillan in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. What Morgan denies the firm in this bland description is the element of risk-taking, albeit calculated risk-taking, which marked Macmillan's progress in publishing at this time. Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, despite having had no formal education, were in Morgan's words 'deeply interested in education'.<sup>2</sup> The first book they published, in November 1843, was entitled *The Philosophy of Training* by A.R. Craig and was described by Morgan as 'embodying suggestions on the necessity of normal schools for teachers to the wealthier classes, and strictures on the prevailing mode of teaching languages.'<sup>3</sup> This particular stricture with its emphasis on teaching languages could be seen to lay the foundation for the success of the textbooks and Readers issued in 1875 as Macmillan's *Text-Books for Indian Schools* series.<sup>4</sup>

This dissertation will confine its scope to the first eighteen years of Macmillan's trade to India in order to illustrate the ways in which the publishers followed a liberal interventionist agenda in their colonial commercial enterprise. It will concentrate on the exchanges between Alexander Macmillan and his Indian contacts and agents as preserved in the private letter books of the Macmillan archives held at the British Library and the University of Reading; in particular, the correspondence between Macmillan and E. Roper Lethbridge. This concentration on the first years of Macmillan's trade to India establishes two central questions: what conditions encouraged Macmillan to venture into the Indian book market at the beginning of the 1870s; and how did Macmillan successfully build a

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<sup>1</sup> *The House of Macmillan (1843-1943)* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1944), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See James Foster, *Bibliographical Catalogue of Macmillan & Co's Publications from 1843 to 1889* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1891), pp. 259-555.

commercial operation in India where other publishers had failed? In order to do this it will set the narrative of the establishment of the business against three frameworks: the political; the socio-economic; and the legislative.

The first two decades of Macmillan's involvement in India coincide with the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 in Britain and the first generation to have come of age under the Act by 1891. Their involvement in India can be traced against the debates over the ways and financial means by which India should be educated and the first comprehensive document on education, the so-called 'Wood Despatch'<sup>5</sup>, produced in 1854. Related to this is the rise in and expansion of textbook production in order to meet the needs of near universal education in Britain. This chapter will explore the historical framework which allowed for the possibility of publishing books for profit and for public benefit simultaneously. Chapter two will then address the growing market for textbooks set against this background, and will consider how India, as British in legal terms, provided particular case studies as far as copyright law and piracy are concerned. The core of the dissertation, the personal correspondence between Alexander Macmillan and E. Roper Lethbridge, addresses the significance of this personal relationship (marked by the acumen and caution of the former and the enthusiasm of the latter) to the success of the venture. This can be summed up in one of Alexander Macmillan's early letters to Lethbridge when he writes:

We have had letters from all over India approving our scheme, and above all, the fact that we have secured the best men in each department to make their books, and in several cases asking that the very authors who have written the books should modify them to meet Oriental needs.<sup>6</sup>

The letter, with its emphasis on the importance of producing books specific to an Indian market, reflects Alexander Macmillan's belief in this market's viability, expressed as early as 1863 in a letter to George Otto Trevelyan:

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<sup>5</sup> Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated July 19<sup>th</sup> 1854, No. 49.

<sup>6</sup> AM to E.R. Lethbridge, 29 November 1873 (BL, Add. MS 55394, f. 787).

What strides education must be making among the natives! We sell considerable numbers of our mathematical books, even the higher ones, every year to India. I should be glad to know something about these same scientific natives.<sup>7</sup>

The history and trading activities of the House of Macmillan have been extensively documented and chronicled in the more reverential house history produced by Charles Morgan and in the anniversary volume of essays edited by Elizabeth James.<sup>8</sup> Morgan's history in particular assumes an establishment view of the publishers' ethos and commercial enterprise. Macmillan's important trade to India of textbooks and Readers for schools has been the preserve of a limited number of scholars working in the interdisciplinary fields of book history and post-colonial studies. Pre-eminent among these is Dr Rimi Chatterjee whose analyses of Macmillan's educational trade to the India provide a model framework for book historians in their combination of historical context; use of quantitative data; and comparative studies of other publishers engaged in similar ventures, notably Oxford University Press.<sup>9</sup> Chatterjee first drew attention to the trade in educational books and located it within the debates and occasional controversies which grew up around education in British India throughout the nineteenth century. In Chatterjee's chapter two she concentrates specifically on Macmillan's early trade with India beginning with the school books, and she establishes an historical and chronological framework using the primary evidence of correspondence between Alexander Macmillan and his Indian contacts and agents to trace the swift and ultimately successful founding of the company's lucrative links with India. This is placed methodologically within the context of reviewing the differing schools of thought which grew up around the questions of how and why India should be educated. Chatterjee's view is that Macmillan entered a field in which:

... from the 1850s to the end of the century, one sees a system that, having set out to inculcate western humanism, was constrained by political realities to become all form and no content, and to set up as a magical boundary between educated Indians

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<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Priya Joshi, *In another country: colonialism, culture, and the English novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition*, ed. by Elizabeth James (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Rimi B. Chatterjee, 'A History of the Trade to South Asia of Macmillan & Co and Oxford University Press, 1875-1900' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997).

and the government appointments they craved, a ludicrous obstacle course of pointless examinations.<sup>10</sup>

Chatterjee has continued her work on the history of Macmillan in India with particular reference to the educational trade in her essay 'Macmillan in India. A short account of the trade to the sub-continent'<sup>11</sup> and her contributions to the essay 'A Place in the World'<sup>12</sup>, both of which outline the dominance achieved by Macmillan in the field of textbooks and Readers. In the former work, Chatterjee traces historically Macmillan's Indian business beyond the scope of her thesis up to Independence and Partition in 1947. She makes the point that during the inter-war period the increased share in government experienced by Indians led to a more thorough Indianizing of textbooks, especially at primary level. This was a demand that Macmillan was well placed to meet 'as by now the company had an extensive network of contacts all over the subcontinent'<sup>13</sup> but it was a network that could only have existed because of the nature of the business established by Alexander Macmillan in the early 1870s with the help of Roper Lethbridge.

Both Chatterjee and Priya Joshi<sup>14</sup> make clear that Macmillan's success in India was due to pragmatism in the sort of textbooks and Readers they published. Chatterjee argues that this pragmatism recognized 'the importance of the role of government in education'.<sup>15</sup> Maurice Macmillan (who continued the work begun by Alexander) did not always approve of 'native influence' on education because he believed it had the potential of leading to a badly-produced local textbook being given precedence over a better foreign one. However, he reconciled himself to the fact that this influence was only set to increase. Joshi principally examines Macmillan's Colonial Library series as part of her exploration into the reception of the English novel in India, its distribution, and its readers. On Macmillan's successful trade in textbooks, however, she states:

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<sup>10</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition*, pp. 153–69.

<sup>12</sup> *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. VI 1830-1914, ed. by David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 624-34.

<sup>13</sup> Chatterjee, 'Macmillan in India', p. 163.

<sup>14</sup> *In another country: colonialism, culture, and the English novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)

<sup>15</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia of Macmillan & Co and Oxford University Press, 1875-1900', p. 18.

In what was perhaps its most successful innovation in India, the firm was not simply content to market books already successful at home - or worse, to dump unsellable ones in the colonies where they might still sell. Ever mindful of its audience, Macmillan expended considerable resources in producing books appropriate – and indeed, specific - to Indian needs.<sup>16</sup>

As seen in the letter to George Trevelyan, and as argued by Morgan, Alexander Macmillan saw that India could become more than just a market for certain books exported from London.<sup>17</sup>

The debates over the education of India from the late eighteenth century onwards, and similarly those concerned with the education of England and Wales throughout the nineteenth century, can be characterized loosely by a concern with ‘sectarian and financial imperative[s]’.<sup>18</sup> Hoppen relates this dichotomy specifically to England and Wales prior to the Education Act of 1870, stating that the proposals for the Act had to be at once cautious and cheap, but his analysis of these imperatives can be applied to the sub-continent as well. The history of education in India before and after the East India Company and then the Crown has been well rehearsed. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik,<sup>19</sup> and later Suresh Chandra Ghosh<sup>20</sup> outline the principal stages in the development of education. Sanjay Seth<sup>21</sup> addresses the ramifications of providing education in English to Indian students with the sole aim of gaining government employment. This becomes significant when seen in the context of the growth of ‘crams’, epitomes, and keys; defined as textbooks which relieved the student of the need to study independently, as they provided model exam questions and answers.<sup>22</sup> Aparna Basu<sup>23</sup> and Ghosh<sup>24</sup> both consider education as a forcing ground for

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<sup>16</sup> *In another country: colonialism, culture, and the English novel in India*, p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> *The House of Macmillan*, p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 598.

<sup>19</sup> *A History of Education in India* (Bombay: Macmillan, 1951).

<sup>20</sup> *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998* (New Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., 1995).

<sup>21</sup> *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898-1920* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> “‘English in taste, in opinions, in words and intellect’”. Indoctrinating the Indian through textbook, curriculum and education’ in *The Imperial Curriculum: racial images and education in the British colonial experience*, edited by J.A. Mangan (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 175-93.



nationalism. Basu in particular sees an English education and its accompanying reading material as key in the radicalizing of young Indian nationalists, while Ghosh's polemic title makes clear his views on the alienation felt by a number of young educated but unemployed Indians by the end of the nineteenth century. However, it is worthwhile re-establishing the educational background in England and in India against which Alexander Macmillan was preparing his entry into the Indian market. In 1826, the Whig government gave its first grant to support the building of elementary schools in England and Wales. As Christopher Stray and Gillian Sutherland outline, campaigns for a literate working class had been gathering momentum since the establishment of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1826.<sup>25</sup> There was general agreement that education should have a 'moral core',<sup>26</sup> but less agreement as to the denomination that should supply the morality in a scheme that was state-sponsored. The disagreements continued throughout the 1860s, resulting in the sectarianism remarked on by Hoppen. In addition to the denominational squabbles, the 1860s saw a growing concern with what Gillian Sutherland terms 'payment by results'.<sup>27</sup> The Revised Code in 1862-3 decreed that the bulk of a school's grant was to be dependent on its satisfactory results. Payment by results was ineffective in areas of educational destitution, but financial arrangements still favoured the force-feeding of knowledge to pupils. This was done not with the view of determining a career but in order to ensure the financial survival of the fittest elementary schools.

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<sup>25</sup> 'Mass Markets: education' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1830-1914*, edited by David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 359-81, p. 361.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>27</sup> Gillian Sutherland, 'Education' in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, vol. 3, edited by F.M.L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ), 119-170, p. 142.

The Education Act of 1870 was borne out of a desire for something more comprehensive in what Hoppen terms 'the need to render Britain more visible within international communities'.<sup>28</sup> In February 1870, W.E. Forster, vice-president of Council on Education, addressed the House on the matter of providing a universal elementary education for as little public money as possible, drawing on the voluntary donations of parents and philanthropists.<sup>29</sup> Forster went on to argue strongly for non-denominational instruction and inspection:

We consider that these public elementary schools should in future be subject to three regulations ... that the school should be kept up to the standard of secular efficiency ... Inspection is absolutely necessary. Hitherto the inspection has been denominational; we propose that it should no longer be so ...<sup>30</sup>

Gladstone rejected Forster's desire for a more liberal non-denominational approach to state education, aiming instead for completely secular state-funded education. However, the 1870 Education Act had long-lasting effects in terms of the growth of board schools and government expenditure on education. By 1883 there were 3,692 board schools and by 1885 expenditure on education stood at £5.1 million.<sup>31</sup>

In India the debates were not so much denominational as between the opposing schools of thought represented by 'Anglicists' such as Charles Grant and Thomas Babington Macaulay, and 'Orientalists' such as Horace Hayman Wilson and William Carey. The 'Orientalists' prized Classical (*i.e.*, Sanskrit) and vernacular learning as the means by which Indian traditions could be preserved. Chatterjee argues that this group had little connection to officialdom,<sup>32</sup> and by extension little impact on the development of education in India. Grant came to India in 1767 and believed the abuses he found in Indian society could be removed by the introduction of Christianity. However, at the suggestion of William Wilberforce, Grant turned his attention to the diffusion of knowledge in India through the

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 597.

<sup>29</sup> 'Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up the gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming . . .the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours.' *Hansard*, c. 443-4 (17 Feb. 1870), quoted in Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886*, p. 598.

<sup>30</sup> *Hansard*, c. 445-7 (17 Feb. 1870).

<sup>31</sup> Hoppen, *The Mid-Victoria Generation 1846-1886*, p. 599.

<sup>32</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia, p. 3.

medium of English. In his *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly in the Respect of Morals and on the Means of Improving It*<sup>33</sup> Grant argued for the introduction of a European (meaning English) education as the means by which abuse or superstition might be removed.

Grant's views were extreme in their proselytising zeal, but his insistence on English as the means by which a European education could be disseminated contributed to the Charter Act of 1813. In the 43<sup>rd</sup> Clause, the Governor-General was empowered to:

appropriate a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year out of the surplus territorial revenues for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.<sup>34</sup>

Ghosh argues that the 43<sup>rd</sup> Clause is important because it laid down for the first time that the dissemination of education among the people should be one of the tasks of the British in India.<sup>35</sup> It carries a striking significance in the context of elementary education in England which at this time saw no public money. As well-meaning as Clause 43 was, it was also rather vague in terms of ascertaining the surplus in territorial revenues that could be spent on education. It was not until 1821 that the state revenues of Rs. one lakh could actually be accounted for.<sup>36</sup> In 1834, the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, appointed Macaulay President of the Board of Public Instruction. Like Grant before him, Macaulay believed in the promulgation of English laws and culture through the medium of the English language and through a European education. He interpreted Clause 43 in a way that was wholly Anglocentric: as Ghosh points out, "literature" could be interpreted as English literature, and "a learned native of India", one who was versed in Locke or Milton.<sup>37</sup> Shortly before the publication of his Minute on Indian Education on 2 February 1835, Macaulay had written a strongly-worded rebuttal to John Tytler in reply to Tytler's letter setting out the case for continuing instruction in Sanskrit and Arabic. Tytler was an assistant surgeon, but also

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<sup>33</sup> 1792, published in London, 1797.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998*, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

taught literature and mathematics at the Hindu College. He was employed by the Committee of Public Instruction as a translator. The letter demonstrates Macaulay's conviction that only education in English (and indeed an English education) was of any benefit to India: 'We must provide the people with something to say, before we trouble ourselves about the style which they say it in ... I believe therefore that the native population if left to itself would prefer our mode of education to yours.'<sup>38</sup> After 1835, the 'Anglicist' view promoted by Macaulay had triumphed, aided by the increase in the educational grant to Rs. 10 lakh *per* year in 1833.

Although by the late 1830s the *Pax Britannica* began to be discussed in terms of its educative good, a distinct gulf between the morally beneficial aspects of education and its more remunerative outcomes could be perceived. Between 1838-39, the General Committee for Public Instruction in Bengal noted that education was proving popular among the middle classes but only for its direct monetary return.<sup>39</sup> Suresh Chandra Ghosh argues that although the majority of young Indians saw an English education as a means to employment in official and (more typically) non-official capacities, this had become a problem by the 1870s in that 'the educated Indian was seen to feel neglected at having no work for which he had been educated and no opportunity or desire to return to the '... background[s] of his forefathers'.<sup>40</sup> This continued throughout the nineteenth century, culminating in Lord Curzon's address to the convocation of Calcutta University in 1902 in which he lamented the 'anxiety of cram', as Sanjay Seth terms it,<sup>41</sup> and the limiting of knowledge to the cultivation of memory without understanding.<sup>42</sup> This view of education as forcible feeding is not exclusive to Curzon. Gillian Sutherland observes that payment by results in English elementary schools 'restricted the range of subjects and bred a mechanical

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<sup>38</sup> TBM to John Tytler, 28 January 1835. *The Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay*, vol. III January 1834-August 1841, edited by Thomas Pinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 426-7.

<sup>39</sup> *General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1844-45*, ccviii, quoted by Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India*, p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> 'English in taste, in opinions, in words and intellect'. Indoctrinating the Indian through textbooks, curriculum and education', p. 189.

<sup>41</sup> *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India*, p. 22.

<sup>42</sup> *Lord Curzon in India: being a selection from his speeches as viceroy & governor-general of India 1898-1905 : with a portrait, explanatory notes and an index, and with an introduction*. Sir Thomas Raleigh (London; New York: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 485.

drilling in the classroom, a rehearsal every day for the examination that came once a year'.<sup>43</sup> Long before Curzon, Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control,<sup>44</sup> formulated a report which became known as the 'Wood Despatch' or the Educational Charter of 1854.<sup>45</sup> Wood's Despatch proposed essentially a compromise between the extremes of the 'Anglicist' and 'Orientalist' views, although Wood never lost sight of the fact that a proficiency in English was by far the preferred route of the growing Indian middle class.

'In some parts of India, ... more especially in the immediate vicinity of the Presidency towns ... a very moderate proficiency in the English language is often looked upon ... as the end and object of their education, rather than as a necessary step to the improvement of their general knowledge.' (p. 12 §12).

This compromise would take the form of continued instruction in English 'where there is a demand for it' (p. 14 §14) in combination with 'a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district ... the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger class who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English.' (p. 15 §15). Crucially, Wood addressed the means by which education in India could be better organised through the creation of an Education Department; the provision of education to a greater number than those just likely to matriculate; and the funding of schools through a system of grants-in-aid (p. 16 §17; p. 32 §42; pp. 36-7 §§51, 52). Wood's argument in favour of a grants-in-aid scheme reads as if it were a benevolent appeal to personal responsibility: a wholly gratuitous education, he claims, will never be valued as much as one which has attendant sacrifices, however small. Public money, therefore, should only be given to schools 'as require some fee ... from their scholars' (p. 38 §54). Aid should also only be given to schools which abstained from any interference in religious instruction but which were under adequate local management (p. 37 §53). In spite of the Despatch, English came to be adopted as the preferred medium for education and schools prepared their students for the matriculation exam which was the precursor to a government clerical job.

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<sup>43</sup> 'Education' in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, vol. 3, p. 145.

<sup>44</sup> The Board of Control was set up in 1784 to supervise the activities of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

<sup>45</sup> All quotations from the Wood Despatch taken from *High Education in India. A Plea for the State Colleges*. Roper Lethbridge (London: W.H. Allen and Co, 1882) where the despatch is given *literatim* in Chapter 2, pp. 4-70. Further references to the Despatch as quoted in *High Education* are given after quotations in the text.

By the time Macmillan formally entered the Indian market in 1873, formal education in English mandated and organised by school boards was firmly established. It had been helped by the territorial revenues set aside and also by the grants-in-aid scheme, although in 1870 a Resolution was passed by the Government of India stating the withdrawal of state financial assistance for the instruction of the people of Bengal in the English language.<sup>46</sup> The reason for this was that the desire for and rapid spread of an English education ensured its survival. Grants-in-aid were reserved for schools which drew their pupils from lower income groups. The education received by young Indians determined on a government job emphasised memory and rote learning, and it was not until Lord Curzon's State Paper on Education issued as a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council on Indian Education in March 1904 that a critical analysis of education in India had been attempted since 1854.<sup>47</sup> In England, the Education Act of 1870 argued for a liberal, non-denominational education but one that could be provided for with as little state money as possible, appealing instead to the philanthropic instincts of local communities. Education as a means to an end was also viewed rather differently: not so much as the route to government employment but more to an increased visibility of Britain in the international community wrapped around the principle of the moral core. Despite these differences, the importance of education at local and national level, and as a combination almost of the idealistic and commercial, can be seen as common to both Britain and India at the end of the nineteenth century and to complement Macmillan's own approach to the business of publishing educational books.

The following chapter will focus on the nature of the textbook market with particular reference to India, and will examine the field in which Macmillan came to operate. It draws on contemporary written accounts to evaluate the efficacy or otherwise of the textbooks and Readers in use in Indian schools by the 1870s. The catalogue of Macmillan's publications from 1843 to 1889 will provide the basis for a bibliographical survey of the books which comprised the *Text-books for Indian Schools* series.

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<sup>46</sup> Suresh Chandra Ghosh, 'English in taste, in words and in intellect. Indoctrinating the Indian through textbooks, curriculum and education', p. 190.

<sup>47</sup> Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998*, p. 122.

## Chapter Two: The rise of the textbook market in Britain and India, 1854-1890

The rise of the textbook market both in England and Wales, and in India coincided with the regulation of education, which culminated in the 1870 Education Act. Christopher Strong and Gillian Sutherland<sup>48</sup> observe that the idea of a textbook comes into being around 1830 when an emerging educational market began to be exploited by commercially-minded publishers.<sup>49</sup> To begin with, the publication of textbooks appears to have been a free-for-all. Before international copyright agreements, unauthorised translations published under different titles were imported in large numbers. This became a cheap method of distributing schoolbooks of poor quality. It was not until 1857 that specialised collections of books on education, including textbooks, began to be gathered together. Ten such editions were compiled between 1857 and 1893, the largest advertisers including Longman, John Murray, and Macmillan. In the same year, the Education Committee of the Privy Council listed 1,500 titles of educational books it was prepared to subsidise in England and Wales. Strong and Sutherland refer to James Tilleard's survey of books for elementary schools between 1856 and 1859,<sup>50</sup> observing that the survey shows the real mass market lay in books directed towards the most basic skills such as reading, grammar, arithmetic, political and historical geography, and British history. More than 20,000 copies of such books were ordered. This was followed by between 10,000-20,000 books on poetry, dictionaries, atlases, and wall maps. This remarkable growth in textbooks was as a direct result of the rise of school boards and the demands for a standardized curriculum.

As outlined in the previous chapter, education developed throughout the second half of the nineteenth century along prescriptive lines, preparing children to pass exams mechanically but with limited room for more creative learning. By the time of the Revised Code of 1862 the more discursive forms of instruction drawing on anthologies of prose and poetry became subordinate to books whose sole aim was to help children pass examinations. Fairy tales, and fiction in general, were frowned upon as unnecessary, although some moral instruction and useful information was still in evidence. The Education Act of 1870 did nothing to change this pedagogical approach, but it did bring new

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<sup>48</sup> 'Mass Markets: education' in *CHBB6*, pp. 359-81.

<sup>49</sup> In 1840 the *Publishers' Circular* printed a special 'Education Issue', which became bi-annual in 1842. 'Mass Markets: education', pp. 359-60.

<sup>50</sup> 'Mass Markets: education', p. 367.

opportunities for publishing textbooks which at this time could be described as essentially crammers. However, a reaction was beginning to set in against this mechanical form of teaching. The 'Look and Say' method, for example, allowed pupils to encounter complete words and sentences rather than building them up from syllables, and a dual confidence in oral skills and reading was encouraged from the beginning.

In India, the educational market of the second half of the nineteenth century was the only market of any real size that was easily commercially exploitable. By the 1880s the prescribing of textbooks was in the hands of the Text Book Committees of the Provincial Governments and the Boards of Study of the emerging Universities,<sup>51</sup> but the provision of books had started much earlier with the creation of the Calcutta School Book Society (CSBS) in 1818. In 1910 Macmillan acquired the CSBS, renaming it the Indian School Supply Depot in 1913. Chatterjee observes that it became a *de facto* branch of the publishing house.<sup>52</sup> The CSBS had been founded with the view to promoting moral and intellectual improvement through useful elementary knowledge.<sup>53</sup> Together with other educational agencies such as the Bombay Native School Book and School Society, and the Society for Translating European Sciences and School Society, the CSBS began a programme which aimed to disseminate this knowledge through 'the creation of texts in, and translation of texts into, some of the many vernaculars.'<sup>54</sup> The Educational Charter of 1854 also drew attention to the provision of school-books, as Lethbridge pointedly observed:

Equal in importance to the training of the schoolmaster is the provision of vernacular school books, which shall provide European information to be the object of study in the lower classes of schools. Something has, no doubt, been done, of late years, towards this end, but more still remains to be done; and we believe that deficiencies might be readily and speedily supplied by the adoption of a course recommended by Mr Elphinstone in 1825, namely, 'That the best translations of particular books, or the best elementary treatises in specified languages, should be advertised for, and liberally rewarded.'<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Chatterjee, 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> 'Macmillan in India', p. 160.

<sup>53</sup> Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998*, p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Lionel Bently, 'Copyright, translations, and relations between Britain and India', *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 82 (2007), 1181-1247 (p. 1191).

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in *High Education*, p. 49 §70.



The Charter made clear that successful schoolbooks are those which 'combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school books useful and attractive.'<sup>56</sup> Wood went on to single out the successful provision of geography books which had been adapted to suit different parts of India:

It is obvious that the local peculiarities of different parts of India render it necessary that the class-books in each should be specially adapted to the feelings, sympathies, and history of the people.<sup>57</sup>

The need to make provision for a specifically Indian readership was addressed by Lord Northbrook in 1873<sup>58</sup> and then expanded on by John Murdoch.<sup>59</sup> Lord Northbrook believed that textbooks, especially reading books, for elementary schools should inculcate English together with useful instruction. Murdoch draws especial attention to Northbrook's desire to 'largely substitute familiar for foreign subjects and in examinations ... [to] avoid testing a boy's capacity to retain and repeat what cannot yet be of use to him.'<sup>60</sup> Here it is evident how Basu's 'anxiety of cram' was informing debate on suitable textbooks, and also that a growing belief among those concerned with education centred on the appropriateness of the textbook to the Indian pupil.

Murdoch continues to outline the classes and general principles desired in suitable textbooks. For an elementary school he sets out reading books of different grades, including poetry; textbooks on grammar; textbooks on geography; textbooks on history; textbooks on arithmetic and accounts; and hints on school management for the teacher. Of all of these, he argues, the reading book is the most important.<sup>61</sup> Throughout his classification, Murdoch stresses the need for adaptation for India, and discusses this in comparative terms with reference to books published in England and those published in India. Reading books of the first category are deemed by Murdoch either to be too full of information as to render them off-putting to young minds, or concentrating too much on fairytales and fables at the expense of good working lessons. Murdoch sums up his views on English Readers to date by

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50 §71.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Education) No 143* dated Fort William, the 29<sup>th</sup> of March.

<sup>59</sup> *Hints on Government Education in India: with Special Reference to School Books* (Madras: C Foster & Co., 1873).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

observing that 'even a series that left to be nothing desired in England, would by no means meet the wants of the case in India.'<sup>62</sup>

Murdoch also sees room for improvement in the Readers published in India. He begins his survey by drawing attention to the series produced for the CSBS. The chief complaint directed towards the CSBS Readers is that they are antiquated; relying heavily on syllabic word construction, and including extracts from English reading books of over fifty years ago as these would be free of copyright.<sup>63</sup> 'Howard's Series' Readers, published by the Bombay Education Department and circulated throughout western India and the Punjab, are critiqued by Murdoch for containing over-complicated information and once again lacking in appropriateness.<sup>64</sup> Conversely, Murdoch praised the six graded Reading Books compiled by Peary Churn Sircar and claimed to be in use throughout Bengal and Behar as school- books which combine some extracts from English Readers together with some original material. Crucially, he approves of them for showing evidence of adaptation to Indian circumstances and for their detailed instructions to teachers.<sup>65</sup> The Sircar Readers replaced Thomas Nelson's Royal Readers, which had proved unpopular on account of their overt 'Englishness'. Chatterjee identifies Anglocentric features in the Royal Readers such as 'birds nesting' and 'May fairs'.<sup>66</sup>

By the 1880s, higher education had expanded but there were still defects such as the inadequacy of textbooks and equipment. Part of the problem was that no real centralised system existed for the selection and approval of textbooks. During the early part of the nineteenth century some provincial governments concerned themselves closely in all aspects of textbook production and distribution, often with missionary involvement as in the case of vernacular translations. However, towards the end of the century this gave way to increasing private enterprise. Lionel Bently draws attention to the fact that the provincial governments were making deals with specific publishers, which in the case of English texts (as against translations) produced a flood of material.<sup>67</sup> Rather than producing textbooks, directors of public instruction had to inspect the books that were to be approved by the

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>66</sup> 'A Place in the World. India' in *CHBB6*, 624-34 (p. 631).

<sup>67</sup> 'Copyright, translations, and relations between Britain and India', p. 1199.

government-run and government-aided schools. Given the amount of material entering India from British publishers, this became an onerous task which most inspectors were glad to relinquish, as private enterprise eventually triumphed and government book depots closed.<sup>68</sup> To add to the problems, Textbook Committees varied in size and function from province to province: in Bengal, books were put to the Committee direct by publishers and authors; in Madras and Bombay the Director of Public Instruction referred books to the Committee but retained the final decision.<sup>69</sup>

According to Aparna Basu, Curzon's belief in the re-establishment of state control over education was manifested in his reappraisal of the school textbook policy.<sup>70</sup> For Curzon this meant exercising greater control over textbooks that could be judged disloyal or seditious. Despite Curzon's Resolution on Textbooks of February 1900, Basu observes that in attempting to combat sedition through a centralising process of selection, 'defects in textbooks such as being old fashioned, outdated, and badly written and printed were ignored'.<sup>71</sup> Sanjay Seth relates these problems to his discussion of the problems of rote learning inculcated in Indian students trained only to pass exams. Because knowledge was cultivated by memory, teachers often compensated for their students' restricted English by dictating texts word for word. Seth points to the unsuccessful attempts to alleviate the problem: Madras abolished the English textbook for the matriculation exam and Calcutta proposed to replace a single textbook with a number of required readings. He observes that the outcome of this was a further proliferation of keys, epitomes, and digests. These 'relieved the student of the need to study even the textbook, and produced model exam questions and answers beside'.<sup>72</sup>

How did Macmillan respond to the growth in textbooks in the home market and to the emerging markets in India? Morgan refers to the circle of friends shared by Daniel and Alexander Macmillan who would provide the publishers with 'something solidier than fiction'.<sup>73</sup> In the early days of the firm, a particular example of the advisory friend was that

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1200. Bently quotes to this effect from the *Fourth Quinquennial Review of the Indian Department of Education*, 1904.

<sup>69</sup> Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898-1920*, p. 36.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>72</sup> *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (New Delhi: OUP, 2008), p. 25.

<sup>73</sup> *The House of Macmillan*, p. 37.

of Edward Thring, eventually Headmaster of Uppingham, whose *Child's Grammar* was stereotyped by Macmillan in 1853.<sup>74</sup> Bibliographical and quantitative information on Macmillan's publication of textbooks has been analysed by Simon Eliot.<sup>75</sup> He draws primarily on the invaluable if idiosyncratic work compiled by James Foster who worked for the firm. A *Bibliographical Catalogue of Macmillan and Co's Publications from 1843 to 1889*<sup>76</sup> lists year-by-year Macmillan's publications, together with details of authors, titles, format, imprint and price. Not only does it provide useful information on the development of their educational books but it is also a primary source for tracing the publication of textbooks for Indian schools. In order to create a subject profile, Eliot has classified Macmillan titles for 1846-86 found in the *Bibliographical Catalogue* according to the Dewey Decimal System. Although successful for most classes of books, it is not ideal when it comes to classifying Macmillan's education books as there is a significant amount of crossover between books classified as literature and those classified as education. However, according to Eliot's analysis, Religion, Science, Literature, and later Education, were to become the mainstay of the Macmillan list.<sup>77</sup> By reassessing certain categories as educationally functional, Eliot has shown that between 1846 and 1866 there was a clearly demonstrable rise in the number of books which could be regarded as textbooks. Eliot's revised percentage share for Macmillan's educational works and textbooks is as follows: 1846, 6.25%; 1856, 11.11%; 1866, 32.26%; 1876, 27.13%.<sup>78</sup> Although there was a percentage drop between 1866 and 1876, this shows the strong position Macmillan was in to enter the Indian education market.

In spite of the disparate nature of the Indian Textbook Committees, the loosening of governmental control over the provision of textbooks suited Macmillan. Just as the Macmillan brothers were establishing links with educators in England such as Thring so they were also cultivating links with those closely involved in education in India. Chatterjee observes that in Cambridge the academics and students who had gravitated towards the Macmillan's shop later went on to have careers in India and in the Indian Educational

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>75</sup> "'To You in Your Vast Business'" Some features of the quantitative history of Macmillan 1843-91' in *Macmillan A Publishing Tradition*, 11-51.

<sup>76</sup> London: Macmillan, 1891.

<sup>77</sup> "'To You in Your Vast Business'", p. 28.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Service.<sup>79</sup> Some of them also went on to be published by Macmillan in the *Text-Books for Indian Schools* series such as Isaac Todhunter and Barnard Smith.<sup>80</sup> As early as 1860 Alexander Macmillan was sounding out correspondents for information on provision and distribution of books to Indian schools and colleges:

I should be glad to know how the matter now stands, and what prospect there is for trade in books and to what extent. Who supplies the Colleges and Schools at present? And is the demand large? And do you know on what terms they are supplied? We have at present a small amount of business with India and could do more ...<sup>81</sup>

Alexander Macmillan had already declined Sendall's offer to set up an agency in Colombo, although a 'brisk trade' was clearly going on as letters and remittances from booksellers attest.<sup>82</sup>

These contacts would have been invaluable to Alexander Macmillan in getting books on to the approved Indian lists. The returns on textbooks from the 1860s onwards were also assured and steady if a book was prescribed.<sup>83</sup> Prescription usually lasted two years and was rarely reviewed. As Chatterjee points out, such were the rewards that seven British publishing houses developed a substantial Indian trade. Macmillan and Oxford University Press enjoyed significant success in India; but other British publishers such as Longmans, Green & Co., Blackie & Son, George Bell & Son, W.H. Allen & Co., and Thomas Nelson also established themselves. Booksellers and publishers already working to varying degrees of success in India included Smith, Elder & Co., whose links with the country started with the East India Company, and Thacker, Spink & Co. who opened their first business in Calcutta in 1819. What marks Macmillan out from its competitors (apart from Oxford University Press, who Macmillan compared themselves with particularly)<sup>84</sup> is the fact that although the firm was selling to India it progressed to publishing specifically for Indian schools. The development of this will be discussed in the next chapter with especial reference to the personal correspondence between Alexander Macmillan and E. Roper Lethbridge and

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<sup>79</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 15.

<sup>80</sup> Morgan, *The House of Macmillan*, p. 30.

<sup>81</sup> AM to J. Sendall, 3 Dec 1860 (BLMA 55839 fol 52).

<sup>82</sup> Chatterjee, 'Macmillan in India', p. 154.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

others, but it is helpful here to establish the bibliographical catalogue of works published for India between 1874 and 1891.

According to the *Bibliographical Catalogue*, Macmillan's first specifically Indian schools' publication was H. F. Blandford's *The Rudiments of Physical Geography for the Use of Indian Schools*.<sup>85</sup> However, 1875 saw the publication of the first Indian series: *Macmillan's Textbooks for Indian Schools*, edited by E.R. Lethbridge and C.B. Clarke; and Macmillan's six graded Reading Books by Peary Churn Sircar. The *Bibliographical Catalogue* lists ten titles for the year: *Macmillan's Series of Text-Books for Indian Schools - An Easy Introduction to the History of India* (Lethbridge);<sup>86</sup> *Macmillan's Series of Text-Books for Indian Schools - An Easy Introduction to the History and Geography of Bengal for the Junior Classes in Schools* (Lethbridge);<sup>87</sup> *Macmillan's Series of Text-Books for Indian Schools - A History of England* (compiled under the direction of E. Lethbridge);<sup>88</sup> *Macmillan's Series of Text-Books for Indian Schools - The World's History* (compiled under the direction of E. Lethbridge);<sup>89</sup> *Macmillan's Series of Text-Books for Indian Schools - First Book of Reading* through to the *Sixth Book of Reading* (authored by Sircar, 'revised' by Lethbridge, but more correctly understood as being co-authored).<sup>90</sup> The heavy printing for India went to R & R Clark, who printed the first run of *Text-Books for Indian Schools*, 'averaging 2,000 to 5,000 copies per title.'<sup>91</sup> Eyre and Spottiswoode also became responsible for printing Sircar's Readers.<sup>92</sup>

The first four titles in the *Text-Books for Indian Schools* show a slightly erratic publishing history; something remarked on by Chatterjee, who observes that not only did it take a long time to recoup the money spent on it but also it had the indignity of being periodically pulped before most of the titles were dropped quietly in the 1890s.<sup>93</sup> *An Easy Introduction to the History of India* had the most sustained reprinting: it was reprinted twice in 1876; three times in 1877 and 1878; twice in 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1887 and 1889. *An Easy Introduction to the History and Geography of Bengal* also enjoyed a fairly

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<sup>85</sup> *Bibliographical Catalogue*, p. 259.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 290-91.

<sup>91</sup> Chatterjee, 'Macmillan in India', p. 155.

<sup>92</sup> Chatterjee, 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 15.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

steady run, being reprinted in 1876, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1885, 1886 and 1888. On the other hand, *A History of England* was reprinted only three times in 1873 and then once more in 1877. *The World's History* was reprinted in 1876, 1879 and again in 1881. This would appear to support the premise that textbooks directed specifically towards the experiences of the children enjoyed a greater success and approval than those which were less adaptable. If the history books enjoyed a varied success then Sircar's Readers went on to become one of the most popular reading series in Bengal and the core of Macmillan's *Text-Books for Indian Schools*. The *First Book of Reading* was reprinted steadily in 1876, 1877, and from 1879 to 1889. The *Second*,<sup>94</sup> *Third*,<sup>95</sup> and *Fourth*<sup>96</sup> *Book[s] of Reading* reflect a similar pattern. However, the *Fifth*<sup>97</sup> and *Sixth*<sup>98</sup> *Book[s] of Reading* show a slight decline.

Macmillan's *Text-Books for Indian Schools* series continued throughout 1876 with the addition of C.B. Clarke's *A Geographical Reader and Companion to the Atlas*;<sup>99</sup> Lethbridge's *Easy Selections from Modern English Literature for the use in the Middle Classes in Indian Schools*;<sup>100</sup> the Rev. R. Morris's *Literature Primers*;<sup>101</sup> and Todhunter's *Algebra for Indian Students*; *The Elements of Euclid for Indian Students*; and *Mensuration and Surveying for Beginners*.<sup>102</sup> Sircar's *First Book of Reading*<sup>103</sup> appeared in this year in Nagari<sup>104</sup> characters. Outside these series, Macmillan published the Rev. S.A. Brooke's *Literature Primers*,<sup>105</sup> which was included in the same year in the *Text-Books for Indian Schools*. Science and mathematics were addressed by J.D. Hooker's *Science Primers. Botany*;<sup>106</sup> Smith's *Arithmetic for Indian Schools*;<sup>107</sup> and Todhunter's *An Abridged Mensuration*.<sup>108</sup> The *Bibliographical Catalogue* ends at 1889, and so covers only the early years of the *Text-Books for Indian Schools*. While this formed the core of Macmillan's trade to India, it is worth

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<sup>94</sup> Repr. 1876, 1877, 1879-1889. *Bibliographical Catalogue*, p., 290.

<sup>95</sup> Repr. 1877, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1889. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-91.

<sup>96</sup> Repr. 1877, 1879, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1889. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>97</sup> Repr. 1880, 1883, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889. *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Repr. 1882, 1887. *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Bibliographical Catalogue*, p. 297.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.

<sup>104</sup> An historical system of writing associated with Bengali and Assamese.

<sup>105</sup> *Bibliographical Catalogue*, p. 296.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

noting the other publications which appeared throughout the 1880s: Lethbridge's *Selections from Modern English Literature for the use of the higher classes of Indian School* in 1881;<sup>109</sup> J.M. Wilson's *Elementary Geometry and Conic Sections* in 1882;<sup>110</sup> F.T. Palgrave's *The Student's Treasury of English Lyrics* in 1885;<sup>111</sup> and H.S Hall and F.H. Stevens' *A Text-Book of Euclid's Elements Books I-IV* in 1889.<sup>112</sup>

A number of conclusions supporting the development of Macmillan's Indian textbook series can be drawn from the evidence provided by the background to the textbook market in India; and the *Bibliographical Catalogue*. Textbooks written for an English market would never find an approved market in India. This can be seen principally in the development of the Sircar Readers but also in the maths and science books. Hooker's *Science Primer Botany* and Smith's *Arithmetic for Indian Schools* are good examples, the latter described as having 'copious examples, adapted to both Indian and English weights, measures and currency.'<sup>113</sup> Hooker was reprinted throughout the 1880s, although Smith was reprinted only once in 1881. As Bently demonstrates with recourse to Macmillan correspondence, it was not worthwhile publishing a book if it had not been approved by a textbook committee.<sup>114</sup> Bently quotes a letter from Macmillan to Babu Ramenda Sundara Trivedi, dated February 27, 1895:

[F]rom inquiries there is practically no chance of getting the translation of Professor Balfour Stewart's *Primer of Physics* approved by the Calcutta Text Book Committee and we are inclined not to publish the book at all, although we have gone to great expense in printing it.'<sup>115</sup>

It is worth noting that Chatterjee remarks on the fact that several class books including Balfour Stewart's *Physics* were both dated and pitched too high for school students.<sup>116</sup> The primers were an attempt to redress this balance. Chatterjee cites the detailed estimates from Macmillan to Lethbridge showing that Sircar's *First Book of Reading* was being printed in editions of 25,000: 12,000 for the *Second Book*, 6000 for the *Third Book*, and 4000 for the

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 400-401.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 479.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 555.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>114</sup> 'Copyright, translations, and relations between Britain and India' p. 1201.

<sup>115</sup> BL Add Ms 55447 fol. 2.

<sup>116</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 56.



*Fourth, Fifth and Sixth.*<sup>117</sup> This indicates the scope, and to an extent expense, of the enterprise as the reading books were sold relatively cheaply but always found a ready market.<sup>118</sup> Priya Joshi underlines this when she makes reference to the five million copies sold together with Sircar's literary selections and commentaries.<sup>119</sup> Joshi also notes Sircar's special sensitivity to Indian needs, a sentiment echoed by Chatterjee who argues that their success 'hung on how Indian their compilers dared to make them.'<sup>120</sup> Sircar's reading books were meant for Indian children of about 12 years old who were just beginning to learn English. For such a market, imported English Readers would have been inappropriate in that their content would have either been too advanced or their language too simple. However, despite the success of the reading books and the primers, the series title *Text-Books for Indian Schools* (my emphasis) is something of a misnomer. As Chatterjee remarks, the books are a Bengal series. A pan-Indian series would have been too vast and unworkable at the primary-to-secondary level at which the *Text-Books* were directed. It would not be until the 1890s when Maurice Macmillan took over the Indian trade that more localised textbooks would be investigated.

With the establishment of the Indian trade came the continuing problems of piracy and the effects it had on profits. During the second half of the nineteenth century India lived under three copyright regimes, as defined by Bently: the 1842 Literary Copyright Act which allowed an author resident in the British dominions to benefit from copyright throughout the British dominions; the 1847 law passed by the Governor-General in Council conferring Indian copyright on a book first published in India; and the patchy (but expanding) international copyright regime. The area that was left exposed by these laws was that of translation, which was becoming more significant due to the burgeoning textbook market of the 1870s. In addition, if the civilising effects of a western education were to be felt, this could only be achieved through the translation of certain works. Bently cites one respondent who believed that 'any law which prevented free translations would be detrimental to the progress of the country.'<sup>121</sup> The ambiguities inherent in the place of translation within copyright law affected Macmillan directly in 1895. This is outside the

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>118</sup> In the *Bibliographical Catalogue* the *Reading Books* are priced at 5d, 6d, 8d, 1s, 1s 2d, 1s 3d.

<sup>119</sup> *In Another Country*, p. 98.

<sup>120</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 62.

<sup>121</sup> 'Copyright, translations, and relations between Britain and India', p. 1187.

stated scope of this dissertation but the case is important nonetheless in outlining the problems involved in dealing with piracy in the Indian book trade. Under the 1842 Act Macmillan owned the copyright of two of its successful titles, Todhunter's *Mensuration and Surveying for Beginners*, and Smith's *Algebra*. A Delhi-based publisher, Zaka Ullah, began distributing his own Urdu translations of Todhunter's work and refused to stop, which ended in the case coming to court. As defendant, Zaka Ullah claimed that not only did he have Todhunter's permission to translate his book but also that the Bombay jurisdiction had no authority over something that had happened in Delhi. The judge found in favour of the defendant: translations, he observed, were not referred to in the 1842 Act, and his perception of the difference between translations and copies was that the former were intellectual while the latter were mechanical productions.

Macmillan was not pleased with the outcome and began, with the aid of Oxford University Press, a lobbying campaign directed to the Government of India and the British Parliament in the hope of seeking legislative reform.

Not wanting to appear motivated by financial self-interest, they [Macmillan and OUP] explained that the right was desired in order to be able to control the quality of the translations made.<sup>122</sup>

Neither the Government of India nor the British parliament showed much interest in addressing changes to copyright law. The former displayed a masterly inactivity by stating in 1896 that India should follow legislation in Britain rather than precede it. The Government of India did not believe the needs of English authors to control translations were very pressing as they could have their own works translated, thereby securing the copyright in India. A year later the Copyright Amendment Bill was presented to the British Parliament, with a clause proposing the prevention of unauthorized translations. The Colonial Office objected and the clause was struck. All legislative effort in India and in Britain came to nothing, and the lack of interest and obstructiveness of both parties meant that India continued without translation rights until Britain had to engage more fully with international copyright law.

Macmillan was well-placed to make a success of their Indian publishing enterprise in

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<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1210.

the sphere of education books. They were already selling to India and had established a useful network of contacts who could provide information on schools and colleges and the sort of textbooks that were approved and prescribed. Commensurate with this can be seen the general feeling among educationists in India that an effective textbook had to be one which was adapted to the conditions of the country. Although Macmillan's view of an *Indian* textbook was one that in reality was restricted to Bengal, the Sircar Reading Books in particular, and the maths and science primers, met with success and remained in continued use up to the end of the nineteenth century because they were adapted to local conditions, at least up to a point. However, although the socio-economic conditions were favourable, what really caused the enterprise to flourish was the determination in the face of a number of obstacles shown by Alexander Macmillan in London and Roper Lethbridge in Calcutta to ensure that Macmillan's school-books succeeded.

## Chapter Three: Macmillan and Lethbridge

Alexander Macmillan (henceforth AM) had been quietly pursuing an opening into the Indian book market since the 1860's, as seen in the letter (already quoted in chapter two) to John Sendall in December 1860.<sup>123</sup> AM's belief in the growth of the firm's business with India can be felt in the following extract from that letter: 'We have at present a small amount of business with India and *could do more* ... but ... we hardly know enough'<sup>124</sup> (my emphasis). Chatterjee argues that third party trading had begun in the 1850s, mostly with booksellers based in Calcutta such as G.C. Hay & Co., J.H. Fergusson & Co., and Thacker, Spink & Co., although Bombay booksellers' names appear a few years later.<sup>125</sup> *Could do more* in the letter to Sendall suggests that AM saw India as 'much more than a market for certain books from London'.<sup>126</sup> Morgan sets out a clear framework (always bearing in mind that Morgan's is a House history following a distinct narrative) for the way the business developed, first under AM and then later in the 1880s and 1890s under Maurice Macmillan. AM's great aim was to cultivate the best men, not only with a view to compiling textbooks but equally importantly to providing him with the requisite knowledge of the current situation in Indian education. Once a sure foundation had been reached in terms of what would sell, then books specially planned for Indian requirements but still published in London would be exported. This in time would be followed by the establishment of a branch of the publishing house in India. AM's dogged pursuit of contacts can be seen in a letter written to C.B. Clarke in 1866:

The information you ... gave me was very valuable and continues so, though one would be glad if there were some educational register to be got for all the Indian Provinces stating clearly what each man taught.<sup>127</sup>

Clarke, one of AM's Cambridge connections, had entered the uncovenanted civil service in 1865 and joined the staff of the Presidency College in Calcutta in 1866. He became Inspector of Schools in the Bengal Presidency in the same year and ended his Indian career as Director

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<sup>123</sup> See page 17 of this dissertation.

<sup>124</sup> AM to J. Sendall, 3 Dec 1860 (BLMA 55839 fol 52).

<sup>125</sup> 'The Trade to South Asia', p. 49.

<sup>126</sup> Morgan, *The House of Macmillan*, p. 186.

<sup>127</sup> AM to C.B. Clarke, 10 May 1866 (BLMA 55386 fol 39).

of Public Instruction in Bengal in 1884.<sup>128</sup> A keen botanist, he was consulted by AM for his views on a botany textbook.<sup>129</sup> Clarke is a good example of AM's Indian connections being predominantly Bengal connections, with the implications this eventually held for the *Text-Books for Indian Schools* series. Lethbridge's prominence within the educational establishment in Bengal lent weight to the enterprise, but it also meant that Lethbridge did not look beyond Bengal when devising his plan for an exemplary series of school books. This ended up restricting Macmillan's expansion in India.

If Clarke could be seen as a relatively staid contributor to the enterprise, the same, perhaps, could not be said of E. Roper Lethbridge. He was appointed professor in the Bengal Education Department in 1868 and became a fellow of the University of Calcutta and later Principal of Krishnaghur College. Lethbridge's ambition was to create a successful and exemplary series of reading books for Indian schools, and he had already begun this in collaboration with Peary Churn Sircar. Sircar was appointed Assistant Professor at the Presidency College in Calcutta in 1867, but had started his career as a school-teacher. His interest in pedagogy resulted in *The First Book of Reading for Native Children* published in 1850. The rest of the six graded reading books, varying in size from 60 to 180 pages, came out between 1851 and 1870, although not necessarily in sequence. In the sometimes vexed world of mid nineteenth-century educationalist debates in India, Sircar seems to have been almost universally liked and admired for his reading books. A clear example of this can be seen in the references made to him by both Lethbridge and John Murdoch who otherwise took very different approaches to the provision of textbooks. Murdoch<sup>130</sup> essentially contended that professors of government colleges were unfit to write textbooks as they had little or no contact with the people. Lethbridge<sup>131</sup> rebutted Murdoch's opinions on the fitness or otherwise of professor-authored textbooks by citing his own and Sircar's successful productions.

It is worth looking more closely at Murdoch's and Lethbridge's works in this respect. In his 1873 pamphlet, Murdoch argued that education could only be extended in India if the

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<sup>128</sup> "Clarke, Charles Baron (1832–1906)." Ray Desmond *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: OUP, 26 Aug. 2014 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32425>>.

<sup>129</sup> Chatterjee, 'Macmillan in India', p. 154.

<sup>130</sup> *Hints on Government Education in India: with Special Reference to School Books* (Madras: C. Foster & Co., 1873). Murdoch later expanded on this in *Education in India* (Madras: C.K.S. Press, 1881).

<sup>131</sup> *High Education in India: A Plea for the State Colleges* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1882)

machinery in the form of textbooks was there to effect its progress. In Murdoch's opinion '[w]hile the preparation of School Books has not altogether been neglected since the [1854] Despatch was written, the work cannot be said to have received the attention it deserves.'<sup>132</sup> As has been outlined in the previous chapter, Murdoch considered the Sircar Readers to be the best of a not particularly impressive crop of textbooks written for the 'temporal well-being of the people of India'.<sup>133</sup> Of Sircar's books he remarks that although 'many of the lessons are extracted from English books . . . some are original and others have been adapted for India'.<sup>134</sup> The Readers also contained a number of observations and directions for teachers appended to each lesson: some helpful to pupils learning to read English others less so. Murdoch draws attention to a short poem in the *Second Reader* in which children are encouraged to find the nouns compared to a longer piece in the same book where children are expected to identify number, person, and case.<sup>135</sup> Murdoch's observations also suggest that he is not wholly convinced of any systematic planning across the six Readers. As an example he cites the descriptions of animals as they occur, pointing to the fact that some are described twice and some are omitted altogether. Science does not receive much attention, but Murdoch is generous in his praise for the choice of poetry generally and, particularly, for the moral and religious tone introduced by Sircar.

In his work of 1881 Murdoch reiterated an important given: that the policy of the British government in India was to be absolutely impartial in religious matters. Murdoch once again singles out Sircar's books as 'the best index to the teaching which intelligent Hindus desire, and of course what they understand by "religious neutrality"',<sup>136</sup> having earlier praised the series as having a higher religious and moral tone than that of the Bengali Reading Books.<sup>137</sup> To prevent any misunderstanding, religious teaching should not take up a great part of any reading book; rather, according to Murdoch, parable, narrative, and poetry should be mainly used for this and for moral instruction.<sup>138</sup> He cites a particularly saccharine

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<sup>132</sup> Murdoch (1873), p. 5.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> Murdoch (1881), p. 89.

<sup>137</sup> Murdoch (1873), p. 39.

<sup>138</sup> Murdoch (1881), p. 91.

example of a youth who ‘never, never told a lie’, and the teaching of “the brotherhood of man” through a story of a kind gentleman not unlike the Good Samaritan.<sup>139</sup>

In both his 1873 pamphlet and 1881 revision and expansion, Murdoch set forth a plea for a revised set of textbooks. By 1881 he was openly naming Sir William Hunter as the man for this job. Hunter had entered the Indian Civil Service in 1862. By 1882 he was a member of the Governor General’s Council and was presiding over the Commission on Indian education. In 1886 he was elected the Vice Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. The 1882 Commission had been established to investigate the missionary charges that government was too supportive of higher education. Hunter found that the ‘downward filtration theory’ advocated by Macaulay had not worked and that the educated Indian classes were not actively encouraging the lower estates in education.<sup>140</sup> Hunter was believed to be sympathetic to the missionary cause, and together with Murdoch condemned what they saw as atheistical textbooks; that is, those that did not contain any religious or moral teaching. The Commission stressed that education had to be made morally accountable. Murdoch’s vision of Hunter’s task in the preparation of new school books was on the grand scale, involving a preliminary survey spent visiting every province in India and inspecting representative schools in each village, town and city. This was to be followed up by a survey of the best schools in Britain, Europe and America. Only then could the editor start producing a vernacular series of reading books for village schools; a vernacular series for town schools; and an English school series up to matriculation standard.<sup>141</sup> The emphasis on the vernacular in the Commission’s view and in Murdoch’s meant that English would be relegated to the status of a second language at least before secondary level. Murdoch also stressed that Hunter, during the preliminary stages, should discuss the project with the educational officers who had more contact with the people than college professors.

Lethbridge had little sympathy with the missionary cause, and little time for Murdoch’s grand vision, which accounted for his brisk ripostes. He takes Murdoch to task particularly for his erroneous understanding of the way textbook provision worked: ‘... Dr Murdoch is mistaken if he supposes that text-books are forcibly imposed on schools either

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<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>140</sup> Chatterjee, ‘A History of the Trade to South Asia’, pp. 37-38.

<sup>141</sup> Murdoch (1881), p. 122.

by the Government of India or ... by the Department of Public Instruction'.<sup>142</sup> Murdoch's and Hunter's planned series of educational works, had they ever come to fruition, may have conflicted with Lethbridge's own planned enterprise. His concern with any potential government prescription can be felt in his comment:

... that the choice of text-books should be left as much as possible to the schoolmasters, and that we should trust to the competition of authors and publishers to supply every want as it arises.<sup>143</sup>

Lethbridge had a vested interest in market forces. In 1873, as Secretary of the Bengal text-book committee he had not only had the opportunity to see at first hand the sort of books favoured in schools but had also started preparing and editing some books 'where they seemed . . . to be wanted'.<sup>144</sup> The authors Lethbridge collaborated with included not only Sircar but also Isaac Todhunter, Barnard Smith, and Professor Roscoe. Todhunter and Smith would become fixtures on Macmillan's list for the *Text-books for Indian Schools* series, although it is worth noting that Roscoe's chemistry textbook was one of those considered dated by AM.<sup>145</sup> Lethbridge is generous in his praise of Sircar's ability, agreeing with Murdoch on the high regard in which Sircar was held. He acknowledges the work on the reading books to be Sircar's own, his (Lethbridge's) only contribution being some revision to the English and to the 'general method'.<sup>146</sup>

Lethbridge's first connections with Macmillan also began in 1873, albeit in a somewhat roundabout way. William Hullett of the Raffles Institute in Singapore had written to AM asking if he would be interested in a series of cheap reading books for the Orient. This chimed with AM's determined progress towards entering the Indian book market in a more sustained fashion. AM replied to Hullett: 'We now have in preparation a series of Reading Books & it is not at all impossible that we might work your idea into our Series'.<sup>147</sup> Lethbridge, meanwhile, had recently come to AM's attention *via* a correspondence with Charles Kingsley and E.A. Freeman (both Macmillan authors). Lethbridge wanted to use extracts of their work in a revised set of the Sircar Readers and the request was passed on to

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<sup>142</sup> *High Education in India*, p. 90.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* Lethbridge does admit to vernacular works needing more encouragement.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>145</sup> Chatterjee, 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 56.

<sup>146</sup> *High Education*, p. 94.

<sup>147</sup> AM to W. Hullett, 17 July 1873 (BLMA 55394 fol 162).



AM. Lethbridge's educational connections and his background in the preparation and editing of school books must have made him an ideal contact. About a month after AM had written to Hullett, he was writing enthusiastically to Lethbridge:

The want of good ready books is one which we too have long felt ... A gentleman unusually well-fitted to the task has [offered?] us his superintendence, and I think our scheme would not greatly differ in aim at least from yours ... and if anything should strike you as feasible in this direction we would be very glad to hear from you.<sup>148</sup>

Lethbridge's proposed set of school books would cater for the needs of every Indian child. However, the grandiose nature of Lethbridge's scheme can be seen in his suggestion to Macmillan that Sircar's first Reader should be brought out with all the leading alphabets of India. Chatterjee remarks that Macmillan may not have been aware of exactly how many alphabets they would be dealing with but Lethbridge surely must have realised the scope of such an undertaking. It suggests that his scheme may in part have been an attempt to match, or even outdo, that proposed by Murdoch and Hunter.<sup>149</sup> He proposed himself as editor and interpreter (with C.B. Clarke as co-editor), as well as sole market researcher, editor, and point of contact in India.<sup>150</sup> AM's response once again suggests that Lethbridge's ideas were in tune with his own, and he was also pleased at the involvement of Clarke:

Your scheme is indeed a grand one and one in which we would assuredly wish to be hearty fellow workers with you, and we are ready so far to enter into negotiations with you at once<sup>151</sup>

In 1874 Lethbridge and Clarke did bring out their first works; in Lethbridge's words, 'a series of Bengali translations of some of the best English text-books', having procured from Macmillan their list of textbooks in addition to the aid of 'the most accomplished Bengali scholars as translators'. This, Lethbridge claims, they had done at their own expense and risk and at a loss calculated at Rs 4000.<sup>152</sup> In a further riposte to Murdoch, Lethbridge remarks that even though these books were never officially prescribed, 'some' attained a large

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<sup>148</sup> AM to Lethbridge, 21 August 1873 (BLMA 55394 fol. 295).

<sup>149</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 65.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>151</sup> AM to Lethbridge, 29 Nov 1873 (BLMA 55394 fol. 787).

<sup>152</sup> *High Education*, pp. 49-50.

circulation.<sup>153</sup> In this instance he is probably referring to the six graded Sircar reading books. The insistence on the commercial imperative which is perceived in Lethbridge's own account of the early stages of his collaboration with Macmillan illustrates the fact that the business side of the enterprise was just as dear to him as the educational:

It seems to me it would be unjust to the authors, who have devoted time and labour to a somewhat thankless task - to the eminent publishers, such as Messers Macmillan & Co ... and Messers Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta, who have laid out money in reliance on the intimation of the Government of India that competition should be perfectly free and unfettered - and most unjust of all to the schools and pupils, whose interests must surely be served better by open competition than by officially-favoured text-books.<sup>154</sup>

AM, with an attention to detail often lacking in Lethbridge's effusions, was more cautious about the workability of the proposed scheme and the financial implications. He wrote to Lethbridge:

... we will take the four reading books you propose . . .and pay . . . a fixed sum down say £100 for each - not for a term of years, but for a certain number of copies. This is our usual mode of arranging such things, & it is one which seems to us to avoid the element of gambling so to speak ... Then after the number of copies is sold we would be willing to pay a fixed royalty - say one sixth of the selling price on each copy sold.<sup>155</sup>

Chatterjee observes that clearly Lethbridge had asked for a royalty as general editor of the proposed series. Instead of this Macmillan offered him a time-bound retainer.<sup>156</sup> AM's concerns in the early days of the collaboration revolve around two principles: that the books should be sound in educational terms and that they should be financially viable. Although Lethbridge's views as quoted in *High Education* may indicate a similar outlook, he does not seem to have expressed them especially methodically. AM's letter to Clarke in March 1874 suggests a need for reassurance that the two points of reference were still borne in mind:

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<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> AM to Lethbridge, 29 Nov 1873 (BLMA 55394 fol. 787).

<sup>156</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 58.

We think that be doing so [securing the best men to produce books suited to me 'oriental' needs we best serve the ends of sound education & also in the long run they will be most commercially worth doing - at least we hope so.<sup>157</sup>

When AM referred to what was 'commercially worth doing', he was specifically referring to the price put on the goods. Chatterjee remarks that 'if the price ... was not right they [the books] would not sell, whatever the quality, and that the demand would then be met by other means, notably piracy',<sup>158</sup> which was a problem confronting Macmillan before the 1890s. Chatterjee also cites the attempted copyright infringement of Edith Thompson's *History of England* in 1880.<sup>159</sup> This was something understood by Clarke, but not so much by Lethbridge who frequently proposed prices that were too low. Although the books were beginning to sell, Macmillan had little idea as to how they were selling:

[They] have been out for comparatively a short time and we hardly know to what extent they have sold in India. But we have had letters and communications from all parts of India approving our scheme<sup>160</sup>

Chatterjee describes Lethbridge's approach to business as 'mercurial'. His constant demands for money; his cavalier approach to reporting sales figures; the problems with the firm chosen to distribute the books; and later the fraught relationship between Macmillan and Thacker, Spink & Co all suggest that as a collaborator Lethbridge might at times have seemed more of a hindrance than a help. By the end of 1875, AM had passed all correspondence from Lethbridge to George Lillie Craik,<sup>161</sup> who had a more robust approach to business practices which were clearly not acceptable to Macmillan. The original distributors were the firm of J.H. Fergusson & Co. where Clarke's brother worked. They handled the first consignment of books in September 1875, but by December things were already starting to go wrong. Craik's letters to Lethbridge eschew the more encouraging tone perceived in the letters from AM, instead exhibiting a tight-lipped impatience with the vagaries of Lethbridge's approach to the business:

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<sup>157</sup> AM to C.B. Clarke, 26 March 1874 (BLMA 55395 fol. 381).

<sup>158</sup> 'Macmillan in India', p. 155.

<sup>159</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 22.

<sup>160</sup> AM to C.B. Clarke, 26 March 1874 (BLMA 55395 fol. 381).

<sup>161</sup> Craik became a partner in the firm in 1865.

I quite feel with you the great importance of the enterprise we are engaged in which if quitted with care & forethought will I cannot doubt prove of great value to us all. But as I have now been at work for many years in the production & sale of school books and have experience of them I know that there are many contingencies that must be taken into account.<sup>162</sup>

On 3 December 1875, Craik had received a letter from Lethbridge telling him that a large consignment of books was no longer required. The numbers referred to by Craik were not inconsiderable: '2,000 *History of the World*, 2,800 *History of England*, 1,500 *History of Bengal* & 3,000 *History of India*'.<sup>163</sup> These were all authored by Lethbridge, and formed part of the Macmillan series of *Text-Books for Indian Schools*. The Sircar Readers, also published in 1875 and being printed in greater numbers, are not referred to in the Craik-Lethbridge correspondence of December 1875. It is possible to extrapolate from this that these were required and were selling. Macmillan had already sent the history books to Fergussons for distribution, but Lethbridge asked Macmillan to repay the money the firm had had for them. Craik replied succinctly that this was impossible:

We sent supplies of these books to Calcutta and you speak of our repaying the money we had for them - we cannot consent to this, and we must decline to accept a bill if drawn on us'.<sup>164</sup>

Further problems with Fergusson developed over their methods of accounting. Lethbridge and Fergusson sent informal accounts to Craik, which did not agree in certain important particulars. There were also no exact statements of sales.<sup>165</sup> In July 1876, Craik had clearly had enough, and wrote to Lethbridge terminating the agreement with Fergusson:

We have now had eight or nine months' difference [from the contracted terms] and we feel the disadvantage of not dealing with a house conversant with bookselling, & I daresay the commission to Fergusson is not a sufficient thing to induce them to take particular pains with books.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Craik to Lethbridge, 23 February 1876 (BLMA 55398 fol. 944).

<sup>163</sup> Craik to Lethbridge, 31 December 1875 (BLMA 55398 fol. 610).

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> Chatterjee, 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 66.

<sup>166</sup> Craik to Lethbridge, 25 July 1876 (BLMA 55399 fol. 898).

Craik would not offer Fergusson an increase in commission under any circumstances and moved the agency business to Thacker, Spink & Co. The Calcutta firm already had an established reputation as booksellers and publishers, with a branch in Bombay by 1852. By the 1870s the sort of books published and sold by Thacker divided into categories ranging from standard Indian law and language works through to literature and poetry and examination manuals and educational works. Their experience and superior advertising facilities were significantly greater than Fergusson & Co. In *The Bengal Directory* for 1877 Thacker is promoting itself as 'booksellers and publishers to the Calcutta University; publishers in India for Messers Macmillan and Co's Indian School Series'.<sup>167</sup> In *The Bengal Directory* for 1880 Thacker's list is included in full with a separate sub-section for Macmillan's List appended to the section on Educational Books.<sup>168</sup> It includes works on Literature and Grammar; History and Geography; Mathematics and Physical Science; Mental and Moral Science. On becoming Macmillan's official agents, Thacker suggested the pricing of the books in English money, affording some measure of protection from the instability of the rupee.<sup>169</sup> The 1880 *Bengal Directory* lists the prices in both sterling and rupees: for example, Sircar's *First Book of Reading* is priced at '(5d) A[nna]s 4'.<sup>170</sup>

The 1883 *Bengal Directory* shifts focus in terms of advertising Macmillan's list. Instead of presenting it as a separate section, the books published as part of the Indian series are found in 'A List of Works in General Literature and Law published or sold by Thacker, Spink & Co.'<sup>171</sup> The six Sircar Readers are listed, this time priced only in sterling,<sup>172</sup> as are some of Lethbridge's works on literature and history,<sup>173</sup> and Todhunter's arithmetic books.<sup>174</sup> Matched with the *Bibliographical Catalogue* Lethbridge's works include, *An Easy Introduction to the History and Geography of Bengal*, *An Easy Introduction to the History of India*, *A History of England*, and *Easy Selections from Modern English Literature*.<sup>175</sup> From the *Bibliographical Catalogue*, Todhunter's works include *Algebra for Indian Students* and *The*

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<sup>167</sup> p. 327.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>169</sup> Chatterjee, 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 66.

<sup>170</sup> p. 53.

<sup>171</sup> p. 30.

<sup>172</sup> p. 48. The prices are the same as for 1880.

<sup>173</sup> p. 45.

<sup>174</sup> p. 53.

<sup>175</sup> The first three in their second edition and first published by Macmillan in 1875, the fourth in its first edition published in 1876.

*First Four Books of Euclid*.<sup>176</sup> Lethbridge's *A Moral Reading Book from English and Oriental Sources* listed in *The Bengal Director* appears nowhere in the *Bibliographical Catalogue*. Two books appearing in the *Directory* list authored by Todhunter, *Elementary Mensuration and Land Surveying* and *Mensuration for Beginners*, seem to be revisions and adaptations of his 1876 *An Abridged Mensuration* and *Mensuration and Surveying for Beginners*.<sup>177</sup> From the pricing in rupees of the Lethbridge book and Todhunter's *Mensuration for Beginners* (both As 12) and from the fact that they do not appear in the *Bibliographical Catalogue*, it would seem that these were not part of Macmillan's list. *Mensuration for Beginners* is also advertised as being translated into Bengali. It is worth noting that this work, under the title of *Mensuration and Surveying for Beginners* was the one published in an unauthorised translation by Zaka Ullah in 1890. *Elementary Mensuration and Land Surveying* is priced in sterling (12s), and sub-headed as being specially prepared for Entrance Candidates. The market for keys and epitomes may have played a part in its preparation.

The 1883 *Bengal Directory* list draws attention to the vexed question of unauthorised translation. Near the beginning of the alphabetical listing of works published or sold by Thacker there is a section headed *Bengali: Thacker's School Series*.<sup>178</sup> Five of the seven books listed are to be found in the *Bibliographical Catalogue*.<sup>179</sup> The other two, *A Primer of Chemistry* by H.E. Roscoe and *Extracted Chapters from the Rudiments of Physical Geography* by H.F. Blanford are not. However, all are advertised as translated into Bengali, either by named translators or anonymously. They are also all priced in rupees. This supports Lethbridge's claim in *High Education* that he and Clarke had brought out their own translations of 'some of the best English text-books', although ultimately at a financial loss.<sup>180</sup> However, the market for translations also illustrates the widening gap between vernacular and English-language teaching, not to mention the growing problem of piracy.

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<sup>176</sup> Both books first published in 1876.

<sup>177</sup> *Bibliographical Catalogue*, pp. 310, 311.

<sup>178</sup> p. 33.

<sup>179</sup> Lethbridge, *The World's History; An Easy Introduction to the History of India; and An Easy Introduction to the History and Geography of Bengal*. Todhunter, *Elements of Euclid* (unacknowledged in the *Directory* list); and *Mensuration for Beginners*.

<sup>180</sup> *High Education*, p. 49.

Lethbridge's connections with Thacker were sufficiently warm for him to refer to them as 'eminent'.<sup>181</sup> He had already had dealings with Thacker when he and Sircar had first published the reading books. The *Bibliographical Catalogue* entry for 1875 lists the *First Book of Reading* under Macmillan and Thacker, Spink & Co.<sup>182</sup> It later transpired that Thacker held the copyright to Lethbridge's *Introduction to Indian History*, which Chatterjee notes was 'reincarnated as the Indian history in the series [for Indian Schools]'.<sup>183</sup> Lethbridge had not got Thacker's permission before reprinting, and had neglected to tell Macmillan who were not in a position to do anything about it other than ask Lethbridge to resolve the matter. In addition, Lethbridge also managed to involve Macmillan and Thacker in his ongoing requests for money. Never very happy with the terms offered to him by Macmillan, Lethbridge constantly strove for a more favourable agreement, suggesting that sales were high despite never offering any real evidence. By 1877 it fell to Craik to disabuse him of the hope of any greater royalties:

We should never - we could never have made the arrangements we did had we not relied on very much larger sales. In the circumstances we have proposed to Mr Clarke that the royalty to you & him should not begin till we are returned out outlay - we think this very reasonable and we have every confidence that you will agree to it.<sup>184</sup>

However, as early as January 1876 Lethbridge had complicated his business dealings with Macmillan by drawing on Thacker for money, assuring them that Macmillan would make good the debt. Unsurprisingly, Macmillan was unwilling to do so, telling Lethbridge that he had already been advanced a more than generous sum of £3000 at the beginning of the relationship, and that the only option open to him was to ask Thacker to sell any stock of his books in order to cover any debts. Thacker nonetheless presented Macmillan with a bill for £271.10s which Craik had to refuse to pay. It was at this point the issue of the unresolved copyright came to light.

The relationship between Macmillan and Thacker was not much smoother than that between Macmillan and Fergusson. Chatterjee notes the frequent exasperation felt by Craik

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>182</sup> p. 290.

<sup>183</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 63.

<sup>184</sup> Craik to Lethbridge, 9 October 1877 (BLMA 55403 fol. 830).

at the delayed returns and discrepancies in stock accounts.<sup>185</sup> Thacker, like Lethbridge, also seemed to have had difficulty in estimating local demand for books. AM's restrained enthusiasm for the grand projects set out by Lethbridge was in the end muted by the involvement of his brother. Maurice Macmillan took over the management of the Indian operation in 1884.<sup>186</sup> Morgan described him as presenting a façade of hard-headedness in order to check his elder brother's enthusiasms, but ultimately giving the best work of his life to the firm's policy in India with regard to its educational publications.<sup>187</sup> Before Maurice Macmillan took over, a new agreement had been negotiated with Thacker in 1881 for the *Text-Books for Indian Schools* series: all accounts were to be at sale price and the agents were to get 15%. The partnership with Thacker continued for another ten years but did not help Macmillan to expand beyond Bengal and Bombay. The *Directories* for the 1880s and 1890s cease to identify Macmillan's list separately, although Thacker, Spink & Co. continued to advertise itself as booksellers for the Indian textbook series. However, the series itself was beginning to struggle: it did not really sell outside Bengal, and it was suffering from the 'vernacular basis' on which High Schools were put. Clarke wrote as much to Craik in 1883:

I think I must tell you that in my opinion we are doing as much as we ever shall do with these books in Bengal. The backbone of them has been taken out, and upon that numerous vernacular compilations (Bengalee, Hindee, etc) formed. Moreover, the High English schools are now being put upon a "Vernacular Basis". The "Royal Readers", a series you will know, are likely to displace Peary Churn's, very gradually:<sup>188</sup>

In the 1890s Maurice Macmillan gave up trying to introduce the Reading Books into other provinces, and the ideal of an exemplary set of books voiced so enthusiastically by both Lethbridge and AM was never realised.

The first decade of Macmillan's official presence as publishers in India did not always run smoothly. Alexander Macmillan's determination to enter the Indian book market was marked by a combination of cautious business sense - the need to ensure the profitability of the enterprise - and enthusiasm for producing a definitive set of school-books for all Indian

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<sup>185</sup> 'A History of the Trade to South Asia', p. 72.

<sup>186</sup> Chatterjee, 'Macmillan in India', p. 156.

<sup>187</sup> *The House of Macmillan*, p. 185.

<sup>188</sup> Clarke to Craik, 10 Dec 1883 (URMA 67/195).



children. In Lethbridge he met someone equally committed to the provision of the best possible textbooks even if his attention to commercial detail left much to be desired. The establishment of Macmillan's *Text-books for Indian Schools* series did succeed as the most successful books on its list were adapted to use in India. This adaptation to local circumstances (although the series was always principally a Bengali series) allowed Macmillan to at least meet if not overcome a number of challenges such as the growing problem of piracy and the rise of the vernacular basis for education. However, without the single-mindedness of Lethbridge and Alexander Macmillan the foundation for Macmillan's future success in India would never have been sufficiently established.

## Conclusion

This dissertation has set out to establish the context which allowed Macmillan to gain a firm foothold in the Indian book market. It has achieved this by considering the political, the socio-economic, and the legislative frameworks of the mid nineteenth century. These frameworks have been addressed by considering the state of education in India and Britain by the early 1870s; the rise of the textbook market in both countries; and the burgeoning problems of copyright with reference to translated works. Against these frameworks the personal correspondence of Alexander Macmillan in particular, and his Indian contacts such as E. Roper Lethbridge have been examined to see how a mixture of determination to broach a new but obviously viable market together with a belief in the benefits of education allowed Macmillan to take a risk which ultimately succeeded. Macmillan's success also can be attributed to the insistence on adapting school books to Indian conditions rather than seeing India as a market to receive books which did not sell in Britain. However, this can only be regarded as a qualified success because the concept of a pan-Indian textbook could never be realised. Macmillan's school books are principally for Bengali students, and this restricted Macmillan's expansion throughout the rest of the sub-continent.

The exploration of the letters between Alexander Macmillan, George Lillie Craik and their correspondents reveals room for further study. The fraught relationship between Macmillan and their first agents, Fergusson & Co., opens the field for an investigation of the book trade as it was in Bengal in the middle of the nineteenth century. Macmillan's relations with Thacker, Spink & Co. have also not yet been the subject of further study and merit investigation into Thacker's own business practices as seen *via* the problems Lethbridge has with copyright and the firm's publication of their own schools series.

Another field of study indicated by the early history of Macmillan's publications in India and the contemporary work of those involved in education is that of the series of Readers authored by Peary Churn Sircar. Of all the textbooks, these seem to have had the greatest success and held in the warmest affection.<sup>189</sup> Although few of these Readers survive in library collections, there is much to be gained by examining their methodology in

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<sup>189</sup> Chatterjee, 'Macmillan in India', pp. 155-6.

order to understand why they were so successful. How far, for example, do they deviate from the pedestrian and antiquated Readers found not only in India but also in Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, or do they incline towards the 'Look and Say' method of allowing pupils to encounter whole sentences?

The limited scope of this dissertation, concentrating on the first twenty years of Macmillan's Indian enterprise and with particular emphasis on the 1870s and 1880s, allows nonetheless a picture to emerge of two individuals who laid the foundation for a strong future business. However, it also allows the opportunity for further investigating the ways in which textbooks were transmitted and used throughout India in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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